

CIACO

NID 81 [REDACTED]

July 23, 1981

SPECIAL ANALYSIS

POLAND: Beyond the Congress

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*The Polish Communist Party emerged from its turbulent congress with a strengthened first secretary, a predominantly new leadership, a greater sense of unity, and a renewed commitment to moderation. Nevertheless, it seems only marginally better prepared to deal with the many problems that have been held in abeyance for several months.*

[REDACTED]

The congress helped to narrow the breach between the rank and file and the central leadership. The new Politburo and Central Committee will have significantly more credibility with the party's grass roots because of the more democratic procedures evident at the congress and because the new leadership includes large numbers of local activists. The congress also helped to shift attention to the future by meeting the demand that past party leaders be severely punished for their mistakes.

[REDACTED]

The congress, however, disrupted traditional power relationships, giving new impetus to the diffusion of power already under way. The new Central Committee will be a more aggressive body, although it will also be more disorganized and provincial. It can cause trouble for the party leadership but may have difficulty in asserting its authority.

[REDACTED]

A party secretariat staffed by full-time professionals seems likely to have an advantage over a Politburo that is made up of many members who must journey to Warsaw for its meetings. Key provincial party leaders--largely excluded from the national leadership--may be still more inclined to go their own way. The periodic meetings between the party first secretary and provincial leaders may thus become more important for influencing policy.

[REDACTED]

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The continuing popularity of Premier Jaruzelski and the prohibition against the holding of government positions by senior party leaders may lead to greater autonomy for the government. [REDACTED]

The congress, moreover, may have broadened the differences between the more extreme liberals and the hardliners. Some of the conservatives who lost badly in the elections--such as Tadeusz Grabski--may now give their full attention to organizing the conservative forces. Continued discussion of changes in the party statutes will give rise to particularly controversial debates. [REDACTED]

#### Kania's Status

Party leader Kania has been strengthened by his easy election victory and by the poor showing of his conservative critics. He is the only ruling Communist leader who has been elected by secret ballot--providing him with a claim to a popular mandate--and he presides over a leadership that seems weighted toward his moderate views. The newcomers on the Politburo, whom he reportedly selected himself, have a majority, but they represent a variety of views, and Kania may be able to maneuver among them to set the political course. [REDACTED]

Kania is more vulnerable, however, over the longer term. He lost important allies during the tumultuous Central Committee elections, and he cannot be sure of the politically inexperienced newcomers. He apparently selected some of them in an effort to achieve a balance between conservatives and liberals. Their inexperience may force Kania to take the lead more often on controversial issues, making it difficult for him to maintain his centrist image. [REDACTED]

#### Party and Society

The party may gain some good will for its rejuvenation, but it still faces a hostile society that it cannot dominate and with which it must establish a cooperative relationship if it is to resolve Poland's economic problems. [REDACTED]

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The party has done little over the past year to dispel distrust of its intentions. Most Poles will wait for clear evidence that the new party leadership is more qualified and willing to share power. Some nonparty intellectuals already are claiming that the congress was manipulated by the apparat more than is shown by the public record. [REDACTED]

Many unresolved issues must be addressed. In addition to handling local and regional issues, the party must gain broad support for legislation on censorship, worker self-management, trade unions, and numerous austerity measures, including steep increases in retail prices. It must also devise and win agreement for comprehensive plans that would pull the economy out of its crisis. [REDACTED]

Some Solidarity leaders may not be in a mood to compromise on such issues. Prior to the congress, union moderates sought to aid party moderates by agreeing to defer consideration of controversial issues, and pressures will now be great, particularly from regional chapters, to test the new party leadership. Some union activists, moreover, may press hard on the issues to win support before Solidarity's national congress begins in early September. [REDACTED]

There are few indications of how the new party leadership will react to the renewed union demands, even though one Solidarity member was chosen for the Politburo and 40 more sit in the 200-member Central Committee. Kania and Premier Jaruzelski have aimed some tough language at Solidarity. They might argue within the leadership that the regime must stand firm in order to demonstrate to the union and to Moscow that the party's new "democratic" procedures do not reflect weakness. [REDACTED]

Prospects are for a lengthy period of intense political maneuvering punctuated by high tensions and confrontations. If moderates on both sides are able to prevail, the Poles will still have difficulty achieving compromises. [REDACTED]

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Soviet Views

Moscow is attempting to put the best possible face on the congress in an apparent effort to develop a working relationship and some degree of influence with the newly elected officials. The Soviets, however, are certain to be concerned about the influx of so many unknown individuals into positions of responsibility and about the resulting uncertainties in Polish policy. They are undoubtedly uneasy about the precedents set by the unorthodox methods of the congress in choosing new party leaders and by some of the proposed changes in the Polish party statutes. [REDACTED]

The Soviets will continue to press the Polish leadership to limit further changes and eventually to cancel some of them. The Soviets stressed in their greeting to the Polish leadership on Tuesday that the party must now "resolutely rebuff anarchy and counterrevolution," and they seem likely to maintain judicious contacts with Polish hardliners to support their efforts to this end. [REDACTED]